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CHAPTER XI

EPILOGUE

I have not presented in this work all the empirical facts that may be elucidated with the proposed model of Orokaiva society. I have had space to discuss only a small minority of the myths which are at my disposal but there are a number of others that are more readily understood in the light of my analysis of social structure. The description I have given of corporate activities in patrilineal descent groups has been rather summary, even though much additional evidence could have been marshalled presenting them as competitive segments of a wider non-agnatic collectivity. The rather interesting institution of hereditary friendship, between both men and women, has not been described although this forms a not unimportant part of the total exchange network. Indeed, I have not reported the exchange network in much detail at all, largely because this has already been done in my earlier work entitled *Cultural Consequences of a Volcanic Eruption Experienced by the Mount Lamington Orokaiva* (1969).

Many of the facts reported in this earlier work can be more adequately explained in the light of the analysis offered in the present one. Orokaiva reactions to the eruption, for instance, are not easy to account for unless we can explain the powerful driving force of the *iji eha* ideology discussed in Chapter IV above. The earlier work also did not elucidate the relationship between Orokaiva and the white man. It was made clear that this relationship is an ambivalent one, positive when the Orokaiva leader plays the roles of councillor, village constable or 'committee', but negative when he plays the role of organiser of a co-operative or of transmitter of messages with a millenarian import. Although these roles were described in detail, I perhaps did not make it clear enough that they are often played by the same individuals at different times, or at the same time, and that even if they are played by different individuals, these are not necessarily thereby placed in a position of conflict between one another.

We can, however, easily account for this ambivalence if we remember that social exchange between Orokaiva and white authorities is subject to the laws of the exchange system: there is an alternation between positive and negative cycles. Some members of an Orokaiva group may be in a positive cycle of reciprocity with white authority while others are in a negative one. This does not necessarily mean that the members of the Orokaiva group are in conflict with each other. The same members of a community may support both a co-operative to which the administration objects, and a councillor who acts as an administrative mouthpiece.

The facts are that the administration provides valuable benefits (and the mission likewise) so that there is a sound basis for cycles of positive reciprocity.

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On the other hand grievances inevitably arise and these are hard to resolve as the Orokaiva and the white man rarely reside in the same village, rarely eat together and very rarely intermarry. Thus the resolution of conflict is never easy as none of the traditional mechanisms is available for shifting a social relationship into a cycle of positive reciprocity. In these circumstances the Orokaiva requires channels for expressing both positive and negative reciprocity. He therefore has both. The importance he attaches to the one or to the other will necessarily fluctuate according to the changing course of events: the relative weight given to benefits received and grievances experienced at a given time.

It is a mistake to assume, as a European is easily inclined to do, that an Orokaiva is either 'friendly' or hostile to him. It would be more accurate to say that an Orokaiva is, at a given time, involved in a positive or negative exchange cycle with many *alters*, both European and Orokaiva. He usually does not have a commitment to these *alters* that goes beyond the history of the social exchange conducted with them. He assumes that if a European values the continuation of a positive cycle, he will provide sufficient benefits to maintain it. If an Orokaiva is unsatisfied with the balance of exchanges he will usually make no secret of his feelings. If a European ignores these feelings one may expect a negative cycle to begin.

My method may thus have some relevance for applied anthropology. It is unwise, in a situation such as the Orokaiva one, to ignore either the millennial-type leadership or the supporters of the administration. Councillors and similar functionaries act as bond-friends of the Europeans. Their role is non-charismatic but they can be influential as mediators in positive social exchange with the authorities. Millennial leaders tend to stand aloof from the authorities, and this, in terms of the Orokaiva system, is an expression of negative reciprocity. They are charismatic mediators in the relationship between their followers and the *dema* figure whose blessings they are endeavouring to obtain.

Now it would be wrong to suppose that the administrative Orokaiva mediators are concerned with socio-economic development whereas the supporters of a millenial movement or crypto-millennial co-operative[1] are not. I have shown in Chapter IV that the ideology of the *iji eha*, under which we may classify all development ideology of the Orokaiva, whether government-sponsored or not, is based on the assumption that the blessings of the modern age derive from a *dema*-like conceptualisation of Jesus Christ. The two types of leaders differ only in the channel of mediation between the people and the *dema*. For the councillor, the blessings are channeled through the government or mission authorities; for the messianic leader they are channelled differently.

P. Lawrence (1963) takes the view that millennial movements are a 'hindrance' rather than a 'help' to economic development in Papua and New Guinea. If the argument I put forward in the preceding paragraph is correct, the Orokaiva view all economic development as ultimately religious, whether it is channelled through a millennarian leader or the government. Lawrence's question then reduces itself to a narrower one: whether a millennarian leader is a 'help or a hindrance' in mediating the ideology of the new age. This question, however, may not be relevant to Orokaiva realities: to the extent that negative reciprocity between Papuan and white is prevalent, the millennarian leader will

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be valuable as mediator with the *dema* of the *iji eha*. In 1966–7, millennarian leadership among the Orokaiva was relatively unimportant and thus may be ascribed to a relatively high degree of positive reciprocity between Orokaiva and the white authorities. Among the more important benefits received by the Orokaiva were: the success of cash cropping, especially in coffee, the rapid extension of education, health and other valued services, and the rising influence of the Higaturu Local Government Council which was viewed as a gift from the government to the Orokaiva.

A significant growth of millenarianism would therefore indicate a growing emphasis on negative reciprocity. How should it be dealt with? According to the Orokaiva ethos, the authorities should make gifts or concessions to expiate their unsatisfactory performance. Repression of the movement would only perpetuate the negative cycle. Far from regarding the movements as a hindrance to development, I would regard them as a political process: consciously or unconsciously, they are means of bringing pressure to bear upon the authorities. The ultimate pressure is obtaining the benefits of development.

Knowledge of the rules of Orokaiva social exchange may help us to understand not only social but also political and religious patterns because exchange, in the sense in which I have used the term, represents a world view and penetrates a wide range of institutions and situations. If my method is applied to the analysis of millenarian phenomena, those phenomena would need to be described as essentially a mode of pursuing *ivo*. Now I have shown (Chapter VII) that *ivo*, whether under its aspect of expiation or communion, is fundamentally a magical device for the mediation of social relationships. It would follow from this argument that millenarianism has as its ultimate aim the management of social relations with white power bearers. This manipulative aspect of millenarianism is brought out clearly by Burridge (1960) who presents each new phase of the movements in Tangu as an attempt to establish more effective social relations with white powers. I cannot attempt here to prove with any finality that millennial movements are objects of mediation in a negative exchange cycle and that this would explain all their social, economic, political and religous characteristics. My only purpose is to suggest that the method proposed in this work can generate fresh and perhaps interesting hypotheses in many subjects of current interest in Melanesian ethnography.

Throughout this work, I have been concerned to demonstrate a method rather than to expound a theory. If, in conclusion, I shall now make a few theoretical remarks, this is to acknowledge debts rather than to develop new propositions. My debt to Lévi-Strauss is so obvious that little needs to be said about it. I have utilised the methods advocated in virtually all his major works. My use of the concepts of exchange and reciprocity as the basic principles of my analysis is due to the inspiration of Lévi-Strauss.

Yet Lévi-Strauss' work has less to say about the methods of ethnography than about the structural analysis that must follow after the ethnography is completed. The profound implications of his thought for the practice of ethnography remain to be elaborated. Here a number of his followers have made valuable contributions which I have found very helpful. I shall confine myself here to mentioning a few examples. Dumont has shown, by practical demonstration, that in societies where positive marriage rules exist, affinity is

and a lack of buying facilities, no coffee was picked at Ongoho until 1952. 241 [731]

In that year a local company (R.F. Bunting & Co. Ltd.) began buying coffee. The market price was higher than it had been when the government was buying (i.e. up to 1951) and it continued to increase. Some Hoiwo'undi resumed harvesting coffee from the Ongoho community block, but there was constant tension between them and the other sub-clans, Akute'undi in particular. Only a little of the coffee was picked, most of it by the village constable and the coffee boss and their close kin.(1) In 1953 they took two sacks of coffee to the Department of Agriculture in order to buy a coffee pulping machine worth £21.0.0. The machine did not function properly and after several years a passing Patrol Officer took it to Popondetta for repair. The Patrol Officer was later transferred and the machine was never located again. The owners still harbour a grievance on this account. [578] [258]

Agricultural extension services in the district were expanded during 1955-6 at the same time as the Higaturu Local Government Council was being formed. (The council area embraces all except one of the community plantations). Although agricultural policy at that time was to encourage future planting by individuals rather than groups, efforts were made to increase production from existing community plantations. Extension workers visited every community plantation and wherever possible enlisted local co-operation to have undergrowth cleared and trees pruned. Not all the people at Ongoho worked, but factional differences were sufficiently contained for several sub-clans to work together under the supervision of extension workers. Once the major task was completed and the 654 245 245 578 [654]

(1) The village constable was a member of Akute'undi sub-clan but was married to the most senior woman of Hoiwo'undi sub-clan. She has a very forceful personality, is married within her own village and is the only member of her family to have borne children. They will therefore acquire some land rights from her. The land on which the community coffee is planted was previously used for gardening by her father and her brothers. Her husband was village constable and he and his lineage pick coffee, but other lineages of his sub-clan do not and he is as forceful as his wife in denying their right to do so. In fact the constable and the coffee boss (who is a classificatory brother of the constable's wife) seem to have co-operated throughout to maximise their joint advantage. [425]

extension staff left, the internal tensions re-asserted themselves. [245] [578] [654]

The people made an attempt to keep the garden working as the price of coffee was then 3/3 per pound. Persons from several sub-clans participated in harvesting, pulping and drying and a consignment of coffee was taken on foot to Popondetta (a distance of about seventeen miles each way by the paths then in use). For the first time women and children helped with the harvesting. The income from sales was distributed by the coffee boss, but disputes arose over the proportions due to the "landowners" for the use of the land and to the coffee boss for his supervision, as well as the relative shares to be given to those who had done the work, for some had not worked as many days as others. Members of other sub-clans again withdrew from the project. The coffee boss himself and some members of Hoiwo'undi sub-clan occasionally harvested a little coffee to provide money for particular needs, but most of it was left untouched. No further maintenance was done. When the Higaturu Council and its supervising officer, Mr. Normoyle, strongly advocated planting by individuals rather than groups, a number of people took seeds from the community garden and established their own individual coffee plots. [435] [462] [464] [578] [433] [434]

When the Higaturu Council erected a coffee factory in Popondetta late in 1959, councillors were encouraged to maximise coffee production in their areas. The Ongoho councillor (who is a half-brother of the ex-village constable)(1) was able to persuade some people to start harvesting again. On this occasion each family was to be allowed to harvest, process and sell whatever coffee its members picked.(2) People were to be allowed to pick anywhere and at any time. No maintenance was done except on one occasion at the beginning when all people worked together to clear the undergrowth. This system [578]

(1) When the council was formed all village constables were compulsorily retired. [625]

(2) The produce was still taken to Popondetta on foot. The Higaturu Council provided a tractor and trailer to collect coffee from various points along the main Saiho-Popondetta road, but Ongoho was about eight miles from the nearest point. As a flat rate of one penny per pound was charged for the service, the Ongoho people did not use it. They used to leave Ongoho at dusk and carry all night and arrive at the factory early the following morning. [489]

245 coffee gardens.[1] About 320 trees were planted on the Sivepe plot. It was not government policy to encourage community gardens, but those who made the garden were under the impression that this was the wish of the officer who suggested that the people in the villages plant coffee.

Clearing of this 'company' garden was carried out jointly by members of all Sivepe clan branches. A part of the land they used belonged to a Timumu lineage and the rest to a Jegase lineage. [G5] While the trees were maturing an agricultural extension patrol told them to stop working the gardens jointly and to make new individual gardens. In 1957 a Cadet Patrol Officer gave the same advice explaining that disputes would otherwise occur about the distribution of income from coffee sales.

[G13] It was decided to divide the Sivepe coffee along pre-existing lineage boundaries; one part was taken by a man of Hajejopa lineage of Timumu clan, the other by a Seho man (e38) who is the husband of the only surviving member of the Jegase lineage, Sesewopa. Even after this had been done these men claim to have shared the small amount of money from the first sales with the other planters.

Since the division the Timumu man has indicated that he claims the land as far as a creek which formed the outer boundary of the village plot on the Seho man's side, i.e., that he believes all the coffee was planted on his land. Even though the Seho man applied in 1960 to have his section on his wife's land registered with the Higaturu Council, he now intends to give it to the Timumu man and to plant new coffee on his own land.

The other 3 gardens were planted on a household basis in 1957.

Two men from other clans have planted coffee on the land of Jegase men in Sivepe. One garden was made about 5 years ago by a Seho man from Sivepe (e48) on the land to which his father had planting rights. The land had earlier been held by a man who was the wife's brother and sister's husband of the present planter's father. The holder of the residual rights passed them to his classificatory sister's son from Berekipa lineage who some years ago used the Seho man's land for subsistence gardens.

The other garden is on the land of a Bebehupa man and was made by his father's sister's son, an Usohu man from Binduta. The Usohu man was given rights to plant sago and coffee because he had been named after the landholder's father's father.

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[1] In August 1955 an area 30' x 40' was reported to have been cleared and planted with shade under the direction of the Village Constable.

245 [654] At the time of our survey no one who had a coffee garden had taken any steps to grow cocoa although one man claimed that as a result of a recent visit by an agricultural extension patrol he now proposes to interplant cocoa[1] with the rubber which he had planted, and another who already has coffee claims that he will plant cocoa in one of his subsistence gardens when it is finished. One man was given cocoa seedlings by some kinsmen but he has made no preparations for transplanting them from the nursery.

Only 2 men have made even minor extensions to their original small coffee gardens. In 1961 one of them added about another 70 Leucaena shade trees. The other has extended his coffee plot with 60 young shade trees.

[139] [654] Lowlands coffee (Robusta coffee) is grown and is well suited by the soils and climate. All planters have access to the dark friable loams (mume) of the area (but 1 plot planted on an abandoned subsistence garden became waterlogged). Crotalaria is used as a shade tree but Leucaena glauca is now established in mature gardens. The shade is planted in lines and the sites for the coffee trees are staked out. Some planters, with assistance from agricultural fieldworkers, arranged these on about a 10 foot triangle but the density of trees varies considerably from one plot to another.

Coffee seeds are bought from the agricultural station or are sometimes given by a neighbouring planter. When the shade is established, they are planted in a nursery sheltered with bush materials. The ground is turned with a bush knife and the seeds covered with a layer of soil. Until transplanting an occasional weeding is all the further attention they receive. Seedlings which have grown to a height of about 2 feet are taken to the shaded lines of stakes and transplanted. No root pruning or preparatory holing of tree sites is carried out. The growers claim a high percentage of strikes from the seedings but since few of the recommended transplanting procedures are followed the vigor and yields of the trees are probably reduced.[2]

For the first few months the ground near the seedlings is weeded and later weeds are cut when growth becomes rank. In theory the owners prune the plots about once a year wherever shoots are too long but the incidence of tall trees and suckering shows that more care could be taken in this aspect of husbandry. [654] Arch-pruning (agobiada) has not been tried on any of the sample

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[1] Extension officers usually do not encourage the planting of cocoa instead of coffee in this area.

[2] See Cole 1960.

245 plots but agricultural officers intended to launch a campaign in
[654] the district in 1963 to induce a wider use of this method which could considerably improve the present disappointing yields.

[221] There is a definite seasonality in harvesting; production in the area reaches a peak in the months of the dry season and falls off after August. Growers are careful to pick only ripe cherries. They take the cherries in a bag to the river, pulp them by trampling the bag and then wash them. The beans are placed in hollowed logs or 'boats', covered with water and fermented for about 36 hours. They are then washed and spread in the sun to dry.

The resultant parchment coffee is carried to Saiho where the Orokaiva Coffee Growers' Society has a buying centre.

435 Not all receipts for sales of coffee from the sample plots had
[434] been kept but the 4 producers stated that their sales of parchment coffee had brought them a total of £11 in 1962. With the prices around 1 shilling per pound this would approximate the income expected from 500 trees bearing a little less than half a pound annually.

249 (ii) Rubber. We shall conclude our descriptive account of commercial agriculture with a historical resumé of the overall organisation of the production and marketing of the rubber which for 40 or 50 years has been grown at Sivepo and throughout most of this tribal territory. This account seems worthy of inclusion here, not so much as a report on one of the very few areas in the Territory where rubber is produced from trees owned by indigenes, but as a sketch of part of a long and chequered experience of the cash economy which the mountain Orokaiva have had as primary producers.

Members of the clans now represented in Sivepo and Binduta participated in the planting of 4 small stands of rubber (Hevea brasiliensis) near their villages in the years following World War I. These plots, known as Binduta, Sarua, Korinasua and Pusahambo, ranged from less than half an acre to about 3 acres in area.

The Sivepo neighbourhood at the time was included in the Kokoda District, a part of the Kumusi Division. By 1918, 8,000 rubber plants had been distributed to villages in the district which was considered too far inland for worthwhile copra production. In 1920 the government plantation, established at Kokoda in 1908, had 12,000 rubber trees on its 125 acres, and villages in 27 subdistricts had a total of 5,000 trees planted in stands of their own. Among these were the 4 plots near Sivepo. The growth of the
[245] trees was said to be vigorous. By 1921, 7,000 rubber trees and 4,900 coconuts had been planted throughout the district and by 1922 the numbers had increased to 8,134 and 6,887. In 1924

178 individual mobility among the mountain Orokaiva. We especially
36 doubt the generalization that the introduction of tree crops
166 induces the fragmentation of villages into small 'bush settlements'
241 which many observers thought would be established on the site of the gardens. When Agriculture staff first advocated individual cash-cropping among the Orokaiva, the policy was opposed by mission staff who feared that the villages would disintegrate as each grower moved to live near his coffee garden.

This has not in fact eventuated although there has been some movement from large temporary post-eruption settlements like the Isivita villages when immigrants returned to their own land to plant coffee or cocoa.

425 b. Developments related to land tenure

Disparities between the areas in which individuals and groups held proprietary rights are overcome by individuals acquiring rights to other land through interpersonal relationships. Cash cropping by individuals does not seem to have reduced the flexibility of exchanges and transmission of land rights. Three of the 5 persons who planted coffee on land held by members of our sample are not members of the group holding proprietary rights. Similarly, of 28 people who applied to the local government council for registered areas of cash crop land on 7 blocks held by the sample, 8 were not members of the rightholding group.[1]

●[654] The need for such transfers is increased by requests from extension officers and the council to locate coffee gardens contiguously to facilitate pest control, extension services and surveying.

Horton (1962:12) argues that new practices in the transmission [24] of land rights have emerged with the expansion of coffee growing since 1956. Our evidence, however, shows that the significant [178] change has been rather the introduction of a new method of cash [177] cropping. The only experience the Orokaiva had of commercial agriculture previously was of large-scale production on plantations owned or directed by Europeans. They had not entertained the possibility of production on an individual basis.[2]

423 Horton expresses a view widely held among government officers[3]
614 that the introduction of perennial crops is seen by members of the

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1 Four of the other 20 applications were made on behalf of members absent in employment and 2 on behalf of boys.

2 See Crocombe 1964:30.

3 See Minutes of Higaturu Native Local Government Council Meetings.

[179] [654] [383] However, different proposals had already gained wide currency; whereas the Administration had previously refrained where possible from participating in the local development of rubber, agricultural extension services have been expanded in response to widespread renewed interest among the villagers and Department of Agriculture staff have recently established a factory near Ombisusu village on the scale considered suited for economic viability. It has an optimum capacity for the production of sheet rubber on smallholdings of 20 to 50 acres under high-yielding trees.

[425] Part of the programme at Ombisusu has been the redistribution of land for development as individual cash-crop blocks similar to the Yega cocoa project.[1] Demonstration of this development has undoubtedly further stimulated local interest in rubber. It is calculated that the problem of capital for investment in such a factory, a figure of the order of $240, might be met in the absence of sufficient village entrepreneurs by the co-operative ownership of facilities by a small number of neighbouring growers.

On the other hand the European who has been buying rubber from the villages believes that 6 smallholders, for instance, each with 6 acres, could be expected each to receive a net annual income on present prices of about $360 (after repaying a loan) only if the producer were to tap daily for 310 days a year on a semi-commercial standard and produce good quality sheet rubber without direct supervision from a fully qualified officer.

He envisages instead a pilot project which would involve the planting of about 100 acres with high-yielding seed at Sasembata, for instance, where the project 'would be partially financed by some 34 rubber areas now in bearing' and, having little overhead cost, 'could afford European supervision by subsidy from the Administration'. The new land might be made available on a co-operative basis; this should be developed by labour receiving 'a minimum basic wage and the unpaid value be credited as units held in shares', whereas the villagers tapping existing stands could sell the latex at the project centre on a poundage basis.

The Department of Agriculture's budget-planning, incorporating the possibility of small loans to producers, has been carried out on the understanding that all smallholdings should be held and worked by an individual or nuclear family.

[435] Establishment costs might be reduced if the building standard were to be lowered judiciously, if standard agricultural equipment

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[1] The participants in these schemes were reported to be keenly interested in the possibility of receiving registered title under the Land Tenure (Conversion) Ordinance, 1964.

Two largely unrelated agricultural systems are practised side-by-side, with cash cropping (or the alternative cash-producing activities) utilising labour time surplus to the requirements of the subsistence sector. Productivity in both types of production is low and, furthermore, any expansion in cash cropping is not necessarily paralleled by an increase in productivity or reduction in subsistence agricultural activities.

The Administration's extension policy is concerned both with 'raising the level of subsistence in the villages' and 'introducing the economic means of supporting a higher standard of living (DASF 1959). While such a policy might promote development with the least possible risk to the producer, it has a direct bearing on both the quality and degree of individual involvement in commercial activities.

One agricultural extension officer has noted that 'The subsistence farmer's involvement in cash-cropping has...added to the complexities of his decision-making and lays increasing emphasis on his role as a farm manager. He now has to make more complex decisions and choices about what to produce, how to produce and how much to produce' (Reed 1966). Individual specialisation is, effectively, discouraged because the mechanism is not being developed for an exchange of subsistence produce which might permit some people to concentrate exclusively on cash crop production. Problems of a lack of technical knowledge and equipment are intensified in situations where cash and subsistence cropping are pursued simultaneously. The essential homogeneity of the village remains therefore largely unimpaired. The nature of the people's contacts with the external economy and the expatriate community only serves to reinforce it. These contacts are few and tend to be formal and innovations only permeate through with difficulty. Villages tend to be isolated from the main centres of expatriate activity and, in consequence, people find it difficult to participate in those cash-producing activities, such as wage labour, which provide a regular source of income. The basic functional discontinuity between Orokaiva village and expatriate settlement tends to sustain a situation where money is used primarily to exchange 'exports' for 'imports' and has little impact on the rest of the village economy; while the apparent control which expatriates exercise over all successful economic diversification and other developments tends to discourage initiative within the village.

The problem of stabilising the world market situation for cash crops, or at least of cushioning the producer from the price fluctuations, cannot easily be resolved, but some of the other problems are amenable to direct intervention.[1] Given their long and mixed

[1] As exemplified by the apparent success of the Ombi-Tara scheme (see Morawetz 1967).

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Postscript

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Since this report was prepared, we have received news of some interesting developments bearing on the above conclusions.

In 1967 cattle-rearing projects were established under Administration sponsorship and guidance in several lowland Orokaiva villages, including Inonda. The Inonda people have sown and fenced several acres of pasture for ten cows, all of which are calving. The need for cash to buy fencing materials has stimulated several subsidiary projects. Peanuts, which are sold to the Department of Education, are grown on three acres of grassland ploughed by a hired tractor. Three families have piggeries and one earned $108 from one sale of young pigs during 1968. Another family is starting a chicken farm. Money is also raised from sales of copra, fish and food garden produce. In addition, six of the villagers and two kin from outside have subdivided an area of forest land into 20-acre blocks which are being prepared for planting cocoa and coconut trees. Our informant in Inonda acknowledges the great help received from the Department of Agriculture in encouraging and assisting in these projects.

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It seems that the cattle projects were established in villages containing people known to the Administration for their entrepreneurial abilities. It is not known whether similar developments are taking place among the Mt Lamington Orokaiva.

When the Japanese landed at Gona Mission in July 1942, all the Yega - men, women and children - fled into the bush and made their way to Ambasi, 30 miles to the north-west. There they lived for the next two years, returning to the Gona area in 1944. By 1950 they had settled down again on their seven traditional village sites along the coast between Cape Killerton and the eastern end of Holnicote Bay. One new village was established at Surilai on Cape Killerton.

Clan membership determined the village of residence of each family in the Yega tribe. In some instances, place of residence was determined by membership of a particular sub-clan. Of the eight Yega villages, four were inhabited by male members of more than one clan. The remaining four villages were each occupied by members of only one clan and their wives and children.

After an abortive attempt at communal farming in 1947-52, the large village of Beporo was brought into existence under the direction and guidance of two educated young men who taught that a large village close to the mission church, school and hospital was the 'civilized' form of settlement. Some three quarters of the Yega people, apart from those in wage-work away from home, moved to Beporo village which was expanded to accommodate them. Although a broad pattern of clan residence could still be recognized in Beporo, the clans themselves began to lose their functional identity within the tribe. There was a weakening of traditional kinship patterns of co-operation in everyday activities.

Although their earlier communal farming venture had failed, the Yega were still very much attracted to the idea of making money from cash crops. Accordingly, with the advice of the District Agricultural Officer (D.A.O.), they cleared 15 blocks during 1957-8 and planted them with coffee trees. These blocks ranged from a quarter of an acre to two acres in area; one was planted by a group of six relatives, the remainder by individuals of various clans.

For the most part these coffee blocks were cleared in areas of secondary forest which normally formed part of the land rotation cycle for food crop production. Although they were located at distances of up to four miles from the blockholders' villages, only one man changed his place of residence as a direct result of establishing a coffee block. This man moved to Gatara, two and a half miles inland from his previous home and established a single-family homestead, a settlement quite out of keeping with traditional Yega practice. The coffee scheme failed, partly on account of low prices received for early pickings, and partly because in 1960 a much more ambitious cocoa-planting scheme, the so-called Yega Scheme, was begun. It absorbed most of the energies of the Yega during the following two or three years.

Genesis of the Yega Scheme

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The term Yega Scheme has been applied by the Administration to the cocoa-planting enterprise undertaken by the Yega people at Ononda, four miles inland from Gona Mission.

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On several occasions prior to 1960, the Yega people discussed with the D.A.O., Mr M.H. Belfield, their desire to plant extensive areas of cocoa. Suitable land was not available near the coast, and it was not until early 1960 when an old pre-war road was re-opened between Gona and Popondetta that access was provided to suitable forest country further inland.[1] In March 1960 Yega representatives advised the D.A.O. that land was now available and sought his advice and assistance in promoting cocoa production. The land available was mature rain forest situated about four miles inland, just north of Ononda Creek (see Fig.5).[A] This land was part of an area over which the Bowori clan of Yega had exercised rights until they were completely wiped out in inter-tribal fighting with the neighbouring Ahora people. Their land was never reallocated among the remaining Yega clans, but was used as communal hunting land to which no one Yega clan had any stronger claim than others. No complex pattern of clan rights applied in the area so there was no need for compromise among clans during the allocation of blocks.[2] Allocation of this land, whether for subsistence gardens or for cash cropping, was vested in the chief Yega land custodian, Hixon Kairembora, who fully approved of the cocoa project.

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The land was inspected by the D.A.O. and pronounced suitable for growing cocoa. Investigations by the Department of District Administration showed that ownership of the area specified for the cocoa project was not disputed.

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Agriculture and administration officials tried to avoid some of the problems inherent in the Higaturu Council Land Registration Scheme (see Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:89-96) by suggesting that plantings be contiguous rather than in scattered plots of irregular size and shape. Contiguous planting would make all blocks

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[1] The road was built pre-war by the Rev. Henry Holland and was used by the Japanese. Its reopening was mainly due to the efforts of the Anglican missionary in charge at Gona, Rev. E. Kelly.

[2] This exceptional circumstance and its bearing on the accord among clans which had prevailed, at least up to the time of writing, is relevant not only to studies of the Yega Scheme but also to the possible use of this scheme as a 'pilot' for future projects.

A. [For fig. 5 see Category 102, p.45--Analyst]

accessible by road, enable more efficient agriculture extension services, facilitate pest and disease control, and permit a centrally located cocoa fermentary.

To ensure competent local supervision of the establishment of the cocoa plantings, the Agriculture Department Extension Service built a village on the north bank of Ononda Creek. Here trainee agricultural field-workers lived while they worked with the Yega advising and assisting them in the unfamiliar tasks of laying out their blocks, 'lining' the shade trees and ensuring correct spacing of the cocoa trees. The D.A.O. entrusted a local Yega man (Napoleon Aiga of Sambori clan) with the supervision of this work. Although he is not a trained agricultural worker (he was a clerk in the agriculture office at Ioma when selected for the job), Napoleon is a man of great drive and ability; he had the confidence of the Yega and was able to direct and control the trainees who worked with the villagers in the early stages of the scheme.

Beginning in May 1960, an area approximately 7 by 120 chains was rapidly cleared by communal labour with most of the men of all Yega clans taking part. Provision was made for a road down the centre of the cleared area; 48 blocks were marked off, 24 on each side of the central road on 5-chain frontages. The number of blocks was based on the number of men who originally showed interest in participating in the project, plus two special blocks: one was allocated to the mission and one beside the Gona-Popondetta road was reserved as the site for a future fermentary. The remaining 46 blocks were allocated by ballot to participants in the work. The 46 men to whom blocks were allocated represented almost all Yega lineages; those lineages not represented were ones in which only old people remained in the villages, the young men having left home to work in paid employment elsewhere. After the ballot, one week was allowed for voluntary exchanges before a firm list of blockholders was drawn up. This firm list was, however, still subject to alteration within the framework of the traditional Yega land tenure system. Any cultivator considered to be unsatisfactory could be disciplined by the land custodian; if a blocholder failed repeatedly to comply with the standards expected he could be dispossessed, and his block reallocated to another cultivator. One such reallocation did, in fact, take place late in 1960.[1]

[1] The blockholder ignored three warnings from Nixon about his laziness. As a result he was dispossessed and his block allocated to another cultivator; compensation of $3 for work done already was paid by the new blockholder.

245 half acres of coffee or cocoa. This would yield no income for
434 the first four years and a maximum of £100 per year thereafter at current prices. This assumes an absence of land problems and crop disease. Even so, the prospect must be heavily discounted because of its uncertainty. Wage labour is now available
[464] to a limited extent at a rate of £150 per year in town areas and
[465] about £75 per year in rural areas.(1) At the time the coffee was planted, paid employment was scarcer and wages much lower.

401 Capital: Almost no capital is used in primary pro-
245 duction in Inonda. The few tools needed for small scale production are easily acquired from current income, the land is not an
[654] item involving monetary cost, coffee seeds are available from neighbouring gardens and cocoa pods are supplied by the De-
[498] partment of Agriculture at nominal cost. One man in a neighbouring village has a coffee huller in which the Inonda people have small shares, but as the Orokaiva Coffee Growers Society (to which the Inonda growers belong) provides for all other processing, there is no need for any other equipment in the villages. Although the introduction of capital may increase output, considerable increases in output are possible without it, and capital cannot be regarded as a serious limiting factor in Inonda cash cropping at this stage.

164 Health: During the period of the survey about 7% of
461 time was accounted for by sickness and caring for the sick, but details of sickness were not recorded for those who were in mourning in their houses. The total for the period is estimated at 10% of all time accounted for. From superficial enquiries malaria seems to be the main cause of illness but other common ailments seen during our stay were filariasis, gastro-enteritis and influenza. The suitability of the diet for sustained hard work is not known, though it was noticed that men seldom work two days in succession on heavy labour like bush clearing (though they performed regular heavy work for wages). On several occasions when the nights were particularly cold the people got up shortly after midnight and sat around fires for the rest of the night to

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[466] (1) Indentured labour is paid less, but relatively few Orokaiva are prepared to accept
[511] indenture. Direct comparison of gross incomes from cash cropping as against urban employment ignores the fact that food and housing costs are much higher in towns.

241 it reverted to the Crown, C, as grandson of the main original
423 vendor, regarded himself as having a right in the abandoned pro-
472 perty. After some years of negotiating he now has a ninety-nine
[427] year lease at an annual rental of $7.95. Here he has planted cocoa and coconut trees.

At any time during his twenty years' employment D could have returned to his home area and planted cash crops on the ample family lands there. It was only when the opportunity arose of a
[654] resettlement block with a development loan of $1,500 that he
[425] decided to undertake cash-cropping; he has now planted over 3,000 cocoa trees.

472 Few Orokaiva are short of land in the area east of Popondetta
423 where the entrepreneurs are located. Land availability is not a factor differentiating entrepreneurs from villagers, but the availability of land other than that held under customary tenure may well be.

241 The entrepreneurs appear to be more efficient food gardeners
472 than many Orokaiva, for even though they average less time garden-
184 ing (see Table 6)[A] they have more extensive gardens, as shown in the following table.

Table 1

Area of land under cultivation for food gardens
(acres)

	Per head of population	Per able-bodied person over 16	Per household
A's hamlet*	-	-	1.45
B's household	1.20	1.20	3.61
C's household	0.67	2.36	4.72
D's household**	0.75	1.50	3.00
Average	0.65	1.26	3.19
Average for Inonda and Sivepe***	0.34	0.69	1.48

* Measured for the six household heads in A's hamlet in December 1965 at the end of a long drought. They estimated their normal garden area to be nearly double this. A lives in a hamlet com-
[592] prising himself, his brothers and some of his married children. The hamlet is a short distance from the village of Kapurahambo.

** Estimated, not measured.

[361] *** From Crocombe and Hogbin 1963b:10, and Rimoldi 1966:19. Inonda is a village on the sparsely settled plain, Sivepe village is located in the more fertile hilly country where population is denser. They were chosen as apparently representative of the two major ecological zones inhabited by the Orokaiva. All four entrepreneurs live in the former, plain zone.

A. [Table 6 appears in Category 461, p.19--Analyst]

241 Later again, in line with an agricultural officer's recommendation,
472 he encouraged each son to plant individually. He proposes that his
592 gardens should be inherited by his sons jointly, with work and
423 profits being shared by them.

428 B's bachelor brother speaks of the cash crops as B's even though both have worked on them equally together, but says that B 'looks after' financial and other matters on his behalf. Whichever of them dies first the other will inherit, but when both die the assets will be inherited by B's only surviving son, a former teacher who shares no interest in cash-cropping.

C claims sole rights to his plantation on the ground that he has compensated his brothers for their help with gifts and by assisting them to establish their own cash crops. There is reason to believe, however, that if C dies before his children are adult, his brothers will probably claim a share. Some other people of [598] C's village regard the plantation as belonging to several sub-clans jointly and their challenge to his rights was a real threat until he was issued a formal lease.

472 D has no younger brothers, but he did have a government loan
24 (though it was not intended for hiring labour). With the loan
464 and gross profits from his store (see p.11 ff.) he has hired a
[654] total of seven workers at various times. As with the labour occasionally hired by the other entrepreneurs, they have all left within a few months of engagement. The employers give no adequate explanation for this and, as I have been unable to contact the former employees, the reasons can only be postulated. In some cases the employer has had insufficient money to pay them but this has not always been the case. Almost all employees have come from twenty to a hundred miles away and most are from different language and culture groups from the employing entrepreneurs. This may well [466] be due to the fact that the employer-employee relationship, with [591] its clear-cut subordination, has no traditional precedent and is incompatible with Orokaiva notions of appropriate interpersonal relationships. New relationships of this kind are probably easier to establish with strangers and outside one's own community.

Since his attempts to engage permanent paid labour were not [621] successful, in recent years A has frequently arranged for the [602] people within his hamlet (his children, his brothers and their children, two father's brother's sons and all their spouses) to undertake short-term tasks such as clearing or harvesting. At the end of each task he compensates them in cash or store goods. None of the others has developed this sort of arrangement.

472 The entrepreneurs have all benefited from assistance given by
654 government officers. Before the war A marketed his coffee through the government and he speaks of the Resident Magistrate assisting him to import and install a coffee machine and open a bank account.

Agricultural extension services were begun about 1950. A, B and D had close relations with particular officers and received significant help from them.

The number of cash crop trees owned by the entrepreneurs in December 1965 is shown in Table 2, together with the number of years since that person began cash-cropping. An attempt was made to estimate the number of adult male kin and the number of employees who have worked with each entrepreneur in terms of man-years, but this was unsuccessful because the people have no clear measure of the periods of time spent by each worker with the employer. Even when the period is reasonably accurately known it is difficult to use comparatively, for relatives who assist do so only from time to time and even employees were often not paid a regular wage nor expected to work all the time.

Table 2

Commercial trees owned by entrepreneurs in December 1965

Entrepreneur	Years since cash-cropping began	Coffee trees	Cocoa trees	Coconut trees	Total trees	Acres*
A	20**	4,400	3,500	-	7,900	22.9
B	14	2,512	1,153	-	3,665	9.6
C	13	-	717	340***	1,057	8.5
D	5	-	3,337	-	3,337	13.3

* Estimated from tree figures using conversion ratios of: 500 coffee trees per acre; 250 cocoa trees per acre; 60 coconut trees per acre.

** As most of A's pre-war trees were destroyed during the war, only his post-war cash cropping experience is considered here.

*** Most of these are old coconuts which were growing before C took over.

There may be a slight relationship between number of trees and the period since cash-cropping began, but I suspect there is a greater correlation between extent of cash crops and the supplementary labour used, whether mainly from kin in the case of A, B and C, or by using loan funds as in D's case.

Retail trading, manufacturing, processing and transport

All four entrepreneurs own stores. A and B aspired to own trade stores for many years but did not establish them until they had literate sons to act as managers. The other two entrepreneurs are themselves literate. An illiterate employee operates C's store but

Chapter 1

Introductory

657 The first legislation aimed at encouraging Papuans to engage in
654 cash cropping was introduced in 1894 by Lieutenant-Governor MacGregor
241 six years after the beginning of the British administration in Papua. Nevertheless, policy was mainly directed towards the promotion of European enterprise until after the 1914-18 war, when the difficulty of attracting European settlers to Papua caused a shift towards promotion of indigenous agricultural development.[1] At first communal cash crop gardens were promoted but as the disadvantages of this system became known,[2] emphasis shifted to encouraging each family to cultivate an area of cash crops separately. Cheetham (1962:68) states that this policy was clearly established by 1956.

657 An ad hoc committee was established in November 1956 to consider
423 the conversion of land from customary tenure to individual freehold title.[3] The committee submitted its report in 1957 and there followed a period of research and discussion, culminating in the policy statement on land tenure in the House of Representatives on 7 April 1960 in which the Minister said:

> (1) The ultimate objective was to introduce a single system of land holding regulated by the central Government by statute, administered by the Department of Lands of the central Government, and providing for secure individual registered titles after the pattern of the Australian system.
>
> (2) Only the central Government...may issue and register land titles.

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[1] On the history of official policy on agricultural development see Crocombe 1964a.

[2] See Crocombe 1964a:33-7.

[3] Land under 'customary tenure' includes 97 per cent of the total area of Papua-New Guinea. The Administration has purchased 2.5 per cent of the total area, and non-indigenes have freehold title over 0.5 per cent.

Post-war tenure innovations in the Northern District

659 The Higaturu Local Government Council land registration scheme,
654 begun in 1956, was one of the earliest attempts to rationalise
423 tenure in the Northern District and to increase agricultural productivity. Under this scheme all lands on which cash crops were being planted were to be registered by the Council after a survey by chain and compass. The individual in whose name the land was registered could transfer it or nominate heirs to it without reference to the clan or any other group. The scheme was superseded by the tenure conversion legislation of 1962-63.[1]

A second post-war tenure innovation in the Northern District was the Yega agricultural scheme[2] under which in 1960 a group of villagers agreed to set aside a portion of uncultivated land for use by individual members of the group. External boundaries were agreed upon and individual blocks were marked out and plotted. The 1962-63 land legislation has enabled persons holding title under native custom to convert to individual registered title in accordance with the Land (Tenure Conversion) Ordinance 1963 and on 16 December 1965 fifty-six applicants from Yega were granted individual titles to blocks averaging ten acres in area (Smith 1965).

No conversions were made under the 1962-63 legislation until late 1964. Following a recommendation from the Land Development Board it was decided that conversion under the new legislation should be confined in the first instance to the Northern District in order to test and refine procedures. Applications for conversion were being received at a rate of over one hundred per month in the Northern District during 1965. At the end of December 1965, thirty-four tenure conversion schemes[3] were under way in the Northern District, covering 1,725 blocks (i.e. farms) and 33,566 acres. By 10 February 1966 Land Titles Commission hearings had been completed for five schemes, covering 219 blocks and 4,328 acres.[4]

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1 (continued)
361 themselves in small groups over the face of the country is growing in the land.' Feinberg (1956) suggests that the tendency to spread in this way is common in recently contacted societies.

1 For details of the Higaturu Council registration scheme see Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:89-96.

2 For a detailed discussion of the Yega scheme see Dakeyne 1965.

3 Each of which comprised up to sixty or more blocks (each of which would become one farm).

4 In addition, 120 blocks (3,148 acres) had been formally surveyed; 269 blocks (2,960 acres) were awaiting survey; and 596 blocks (12,570 acres) were awaiting investigation by officers of the Department of Agriculture.

654 Planting of cash crops on converted blocks has proceeded steadily. The forty blockholders at Ombi-Tara planted an average of three
657 acres of high-yielding rubber each in the first fourteen months.
311 At Barisari fifty-six blockholders have planted an average of two
241 acres of coconuts in fourteen months and this was expected to increase to four acres by the end of 1966 (Williams 1966:6). Blockholders at New Warisota have planted an average of three acres of cocoa after eighteen months. By contrast, fifty-seven farmers at the Yega scheme have averaged slightly less than one acre of cocoa planted in more than three years.

654 A rough attempt was made to estimate the value of the time,
657 materials and services expended on the conversion schemes in the Popondetta area.[1] This worked out at approximately $8 per acre[A] or $162 per block.[B] This suggests that the growth of conversion throughout Papua-New Guinea on a sufficient scale to have a significant economic and social impact will depend, inter alia, on the development, with experience, of less costly technical and administrative procedures.

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[1] See Appendix A.[C]

A [Corrigendum: For $8 read $6--Analyst]
B [Corrigendum: For $162 read $116--Analyst]
C [See Category 423, pp. 38ff.--Analyst]

Chapter 2

The Ombi-Tara conversion scheme

657 423 631 Two Orokaiva villages, Ombi (also known as Ombisusu) and Tara combined in the Ombi-Tara conversion scheme which was among the first to be promoted in the Northern District under the Land (Tenure Conversion) Ordinance 1963.[1]

[621 614] Ombi and Tara contain two clans, Mumu and Kusi. The Mumu clan is concentrated in Ombi village and the Kusi in Tara. However, Ombi has three Kusi households and Tara has one Mumu.

At the time of our stay 178 people were living at Ombi-Tara. There were twenty households in Ombi, nine in Tara, and six on the converted blocks, close to the access road running between Ombi and Tara (see the conversion plan on p.12).[A]

Thirty-five of the forty-one resident adult males had applied or wished to apply for converted blocks; the remaining six were old men who said that they were too old to apply for blocks. Four of them had sons who had applied.

Cash cropping experience of the Ombi-Tara people

249 654 The Ombi-Tara people's experience with cash crops began when they planted some bush rubber seedlings after the first world war. They were encouraged by the Administration under Native Regulation No.121 (Native Regulation Ordinance 1908-30).[2] Although the trees were neglected for some years they continued to grow, demonstrating the suitability of the area for rubber (Mann 1954:35). After some time villagers began tapping the trees and selling the latex to a local planter.

383 654 In mid 1964 the Department of Agriculture suggested that the Ombi-Tara people should process their own latex with hand rollers and coagulating pans at first supplied by the Agriculture Department,

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[1] On the Ombi-Tara environment see Appendix B.[B]

[2] On village planting of bush rubber in what was then the Kokoda District see Rimoldi 1966:86-93.

A [See Category 102--Analyst]
B [See Category 133 pp. 49ff.--Analyst]

383 and later to be provided by the people themselves. This idea was
654 taken up by the villagers and the first bush rubber processed at Ombi-Tara was purchased by the Department of Agriculture on 5 June 1964.

[439] An Agricultural Assistant was stationed full time at Ombi-Tara and he helps to grade, weigh and bale the rubber.[1] The baled rubber is purchased monthly by an Agricultural Officer who drives to Ombi-Tara from Popondetta. It is marketed in Australia through the Papuan Rubber Pool.

249 Tapping is organised on a rotation system, with one man tapping
434 the bush rubber stand each month, producing between 70 and 200 lb of Ribbed Smoked Sheet, and earning between $12 and $34, depending of his diligence and the price of rubber.

383 In mid 1964 the villagers built a smoke house, a machine house
474 and a baling house, all of local materials, for the equipment on
[654] loan from the Department of Agriculture. The baling press was provided on permanent loan by a local planter.

[402] On 27 October 1964 an Ombi-Tara Village Savings Account was
[454] opened at a bank in Popondetta with the sum of $227.50. During the following year money was paid in at irregular intervals at an average rate of about $14 per month.

On 12 February 1965 the Ombi-Tara people paid $177.72 for their own rollers and coagulating pans which they now use for processing, leaving the Department of Agriculture free to transfer its equipment to another recently initiated scheme. Extra coagulating pans were bought for $91.20 on 16 October 1965, leaving a balance of $117.84 in the village account.

[651] No deposits were made between October 1965 and the end of January 1966 because of the need to save money to pay the Local Government Council tax ($5 per man) and the Mission jubilee contribution ($2 per householder).

243 While the bush rubber processing project appears to have been a
[797] success, almost every other attempt made by the Ombi-Tara people at planting cash crops has failed. They participated in a communal rice growing project in 1950, encouraged by the Anglican Mission, but it was a failure, as were similar projects in other parts of
245 the district. Later in the 1950s a communal cocoa plantation of
[654] some 400 trees was established with Administration encouragement. Disputes over the organisation of work and the distribution of proceeds caused the abandonment of the project shortly afterwards.[2]

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[1] During our stay all rubber processed at Ombi-Tara was graded Ribbed Smoked Sheet No.2.

[2] On the communal rice and cocoa experiments in the Northern District see Crocombe 1964a:29-33.

242 Department of Agriculture. Clonal seedlings for the nursery were
249 obtained from Malaya and from the Agriculture Department's experi-
[654] mental stations at Itikinumu and Bisianumu. Villagers can buy seedlings at 1 cent per stump.

While the seedlings were growing, several meetings were held in the two villages to discuss how the rubber should be planted. The suggestion of a communal plantation received little support, which is not surprising in view of the recent failure of the communal
[423] cocoa experiment. At these meetings the Agricultural Officer
[425] suggested that each man might plant some of the new high yielding rubber on his own land. He was supported in this by Charles and eventually the people asked for individual blocks of land. There appears to have been no opposition.

657 The history of conversion at Ombi-Tara admirably illustrates
177 Fisk's contention (1964:159) that the personality and character of
654 the administrators, officials, missionaries and other members of the advanced sector involved are often as important to the success of a planned programme of intervention in a subsistence economy as the composition of the programme itself. Although the Agricultural Officer has since left the country he is warmly remembered by the Ombi-Tara people. It is a tribute to his understanding and tact that most of the villagers consider conversion was their own idea.

The significant role played by Charles in gaining the approval of the Ombi-Tara people demonstrates the value when introducing innovations in a rural community of working through an influential member of that community. After studying the introduction of changes in techniques in a Victorian country area, Emery and Oeser concluded (1958:52-3) 'No matter how highly regarded he may be the District Agricultural Officer remains, sociologically speaking, an outsider' and has much greater effect if he works through a local leader. These findings are extremely relevant in Papua-New Guinea where the sociological gap between Agricultural Officer and farmer is far greater than in Victoria.

The new land system

657 The new land tenure arrangements were worked out by the villagers
423 and the Agricultural Officer during late 1963 and early 1964. It
[311] was decided that 800 acres of the total area claimed by the two clans should be converted into forty blocks of twenty acres (see the conversion plan on p.12). Most of the 800 acres was formerly covered with bush and appears to be of relatively uniform agricultural potential.

657 The unconverted land outside the scheme has not yet been surveyed
423 and estimates of its area vary from 2,000 to 4,500 acres. All
425 rights to land held by individuals before conversion have been
614

Allocation of blocks

659 The principles applied by the Ombi-Tara people in the allocation
423 of blocks are not clear, but it appears that men tried to get blocks
425 on land in which they formerly held rights. It seems that no single person controlled the allocation of blocks but that each person claimed the block he desired. We were told that two people claiming a single block settled the problem themselves without reference to a third party.

[614] As far as possible men claimed blocks on land recognised as belonging to their own clan; thus the three men of Kuei clan at Ombi got blocks furthest from Ombi village, about two miles away. One man of Mumu clan was given a block on Kuei land, reportedly because of a shortage of Mumu land. The Kuei clan leader said he was very happy to give him a block on his clan's land because 'we are doing a new thing and we want to be friendly with each other and not fight as we sometimes did before'.

The forty-three blockholders[1] include thirty-five men resident in Ombi and Tara villages; two men each from Ombi and Tara who were absent working for wages; a man of Mumu clan who lives in a neighbouring village but intends to move to Ombi in the near future; two Anglican Mission staff, one a Bishop due to transfer soon from Semarai to Popondetta, the other a priest stationed at Sasembata, about three hours' walk from Ombi;[2] and the Papuan Agricultural Assistant who is stationed full time at Ombi-Tara. None of the last three people has kin ties with any person at Ombi-Tara.

Clearing and planting blocks

249 Blockholders began clearing the portion of their blocks nearest
476 the access road soon after the preliminary survey of July-August 1964. For clearing the villagers worked in several groups, with
[311] each group spending one or two days on the block of each of its
[654] members. The first one year old G.G.I. (Malayan) rubber stumps from the Department of Agriculture nursery were planted in late September 1964. Planting was done by individual householders and their families, with only occasional help from kinsmen. It is traditional Orokaiva practice for clearing of bush to be undertaken by groups of kinsmen but for planting to be carried out at the level of the individual household.

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[1] 'Blockholder' is used for convenience throughout the rest of this paper to refer to the forty-three people who have applied, or intend to apply for blocks.

[2] It is not clear for what purposes these two blocks will be used.

January 1951. The failure of this scheme emphasises the important role of the individual leader in any innovation in New Guinea.

An important modification to the residential pattern resulted from the Agricultural Co-operative. Not only was co-operation practised in the gardens but co-operative theory was preached as a Christian ideal in the churches and taught in the schools and training colleges of the Anglican Mission. The teachers emphasised the practical advantages of living in a large community; for example, co-operative labour could be easily organized, social clubs could function more readily and school, church, and hospital would be more readily accessible to the majority. Most Yega accepted this view and, during 1955, many of them rebuilt their houses in a planned rectangular village, Beporo, close to the mission station (Figs. 4, 12). Here there was a tendency for the household heads of each clan to group their dwellings together and to maintain the same inter-clan relationships as had existed in the smaller villages. Nevertheless, there was a breakdown in the previously tight social control over the location of dwellings. Some men exercised this freedom by building away from their clansmen but near to their wives' kin and in some instances even sharing a dwelling with them.

Since 1960, seven new inland villages have been established along the road leading from Gona mission to the town of Popondetta. This movement inland from the coast was initiated by the development of a cocoa-planting project which is without doubt the most significant change in land use to have occurred yet. In 1960 the old wartime road between Gona and Popondetta (actually the last stage of the Kokoda Trail) was re-opened by the efforts of the Anglican missionary living at Gona. It gave access to land at Onondа which in the opinion of the District Agricultural Officer (DAO) was suitable for cocoa. As the Yega had previously made enquiries about planting cocoa, the DAO now advised them to clear a large area of rain forest and plant their cocoa in a continuous strip, which would then be sub-divided into individual blocks, rather than in the small scattered plots which is the usual pattern of indigenous cash crop plantings.

[P.15-A]

245 By a fortuitous circumstance, the land selec-
423 ted was regarded by all Yega as communal
hunting land. It had belonged in the past to
[614] the Bowori clan, but when they were wiped
out in inter-parish warfare it had never been
[726] re-allocated among the remaining clans. No-
body, therefore, had to be compensated for
245 the loss. The Yega followed the DAO's advice
● 654 and over the next two years cut down a large
area of forest and planted shade trees and
657 young cocoa. In order to supervise this work,
the Agriculture Department built a small
village at Ononda to house a field instructor
and a group of trainees.

245 Many people came to believe that their
433 future prosperity lay in the development of
cash cropping. As the cocoa blocks were a long
361 walk (four miles) from their homes in Beporo
245 village, many decided to move inland; this
was a rational decision. An additional incen-
[484] tive was the development of the weekly market
[443] at Popondetta. With the rapid growth of the
town since 1960 there has been an increasing
361 demand for fresh fruit and vegetables. Many
443 Yega have taken advantage of this to sell sur-
438 plus produce for cash. Residence in the inland
settlements reduces the distance from the mar-
ket. By 1964, over half the population was
living in the new villages.

361 In addition to the dispersal of population,
178 the breakdown of traditional clan groupings
614 continued. The inland settlements are all
numerically smaller than Beporo and in all of
them the old homogeneity of clan membership
has disappeared. A man chose his house site
for convenience and access to his place of
work, rather than on the basis of his kinship
ties.

361 The most radical change occurred in the
establishment of Binjapada village. It is a
collection of fourteen households, spread for
over half a mile, along a narrow strip of grass-
361 land. Six of the occupants had been allocated
423 cocoa blocks in the near vicinity and four of
these men attempted to locate their houses on
the projected extensions of their cocoa blocks;
this represents the beginning of a dispersed
pattern of settlement foreign to the Yega tradi-
tion of clan-based clusters of dwellings. As no
boundary surveys were carried out, one man
located his house on his neighbour's block.
[P. 15-B]

245
179 b) The production of crops specifically for sale.

[654] c) The acceptance by the indigenes of
[657] supervision and advice from European and indigenous members of the Agriculture Department: people with whom they had no kinship ties.

d) The location of houses on the blocks.

[423] e) The registration, by some individuals, of freehold title.

245 It is unfortunate that the scheme which appeared so successful in its early stages should have failed largely because of circumstances outside of the people's control.

464 Many Yega have made no attempt to earn
[434] cash from commercial agriculture. From the time of earliest contact with Europeans some
[66] of them have left home to work for wages. At the present time, almost one third of them are absent working, studying, or as dependents.

464 Forty-four per cent of all Yega men are away
178 working. Those who are married are accom-
592 panied in almost every instance by their wives
166 and children. This situation represents a marked change from the pre-1940 years when many Yega men worked as indentured or casual labourers and could not take their dependents with them. Nowadays most Yega
[466] work in semi-skilled or skilled occupations in which family accommodation is often provided by employers. Even if accommodation is not supplied, the breadwinner's earnings are apparently adequate to provide living quarters for his wife and children; frequently town accommodation is of poor standard but evidently family life is preferred to separation.

871 The main factor in the marked improve-
178 ment in skills is education. The educational opportunities which have been available to the Yega for nearly fifty years have been exceptionally favourable, when compared with
[197] those of most other New Guineans. A mission school has operated in the area since 1909; since 1932 (except for war years) it has had at least one European teacher permanently on
[464] the staff. This educational background has enabled the younger generation of Yega men to take advantage of opportunities for employment in posts of responsibility and higher income which have become available in increasing numbers during the post-war period.

[P16-B]

21: Belshaw E-5 (1951) 1951 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mount Lamington

discussion as to the best method of undertaking community development to meet the desires of these people. Such desires of course cannot be taken for granted, and indeed the pre-eruption history of the people led many to believe that the time is not appropriate. Certainly any grandiose schemes must wait until the people are relieved of pressing immediate worries. But at the same time there seems to be a genuine change of heart. It is true that this change of heart is accompanied by a feeling of guilt, as I have pointed out before. Yet it would be folly to ignore it.

I obtained many statements of the hopes of these people for the future. Some of them were clearly stimulated by experiences in the refugee camps. All of them contrasted their hopes for the future with their experiences of the past. Here are some that were given to me in the Popota, Hagenahambo area:

"Our lack of progress is the European's fault for not teaching us better." (This point of view was very much in the minority.)

"We get knowledge from school, but we are race people. The European taught us very well, but it is hard for us to learn because of our race. All people say there is one name in Papua, but some go their own way. Australians learn just the same but they are superior because they pull together."

"We want the white man to come and teach us, but no one teaches the Papuan very good. How can we give white people good food or furniture, because we're not taught properly? But this time the Government helps us with food. It is time for us now to try hard to learn. We want natives and white man like one family. We were very bad when the volcano blew up. But now we want to help. We want to give what we can and we want to start a new life for ourselves."

How do the people conceive of this new life? In the first place, it is to take place in a new environment, particularly with new villages and new roads as escape routes in case of a renewal of volcanic activity and as an outlet for produce. In the second place, it is to be related to the "Co-operative"; and this concept of the "Co-operative" requires a great deal of explanation.

Examination of files and interviews with the people show that the history of co-operation in the area covers the whole period following the expulsion of the Japanese[3]. It originally formed an extension of the Christian Co-operative Evangelist movement founded by the Anglican Mission, which appears to be successful in the Gona and other areas. The movement spread to the Kokoda sub-district, and to the intervening Periho group, by means of propagation by Mission teachers. Its first appearance in the Kokoda area caused some consternation in administrative circles, as the unauthorized collection of money always causes alarm. A most interesting report[4] was written by the Assistant District Officer, as a result of which

[3] "In addition to the co-operatives, numerous native commercial activities were begun by the Administration before the war. These included the compulsory planting of rubber, the trees now being tapped under contract to a European planter, and the native-owned but Administration-managed coffee plantations, of which only Sangara has recently been worked."

[4] Memo. Mr. Yeoman to District Officer September 7, 1949, "Co-operative Rumours Kokoda Sub-District."

625 731 excursions. This was, however, an experience of short duration and, once back in Sivepe, the village constable reverted to his former role, as described above. In 1956, all village constables handed back to the government their handcuffs, the symbol of their authority, and the Local Government Councils took over.

[685] [571] With regard to interpersonal relations, the evacuation set up a mutual distrust due to the removal of certain social controls. Theft is comparatively uncommon in Orokaiva villages, but this is because property is extremely well-guarded and everyone in the village is constantly under observation by other villagers. The idea of villages being left unguarded was repugnant to Orokaiva, and fear of prowling had to be countered by strict control on the part of village constables over anyone entering the restricted area. I could find no evidence of a change in interpersonal relations beyond the period of evacuation.

476 571 The Orokaiva are not often observed to work in groups; from the relatively acephalous structure it may already be inferred that they do not have regular work leaders controlling groups. Most gardening is done by each extended family separately; house building is done by the prospective occupants with the help of some individuals who feel an obligation, mostly a brother or brother-in-law. Even at feasts, there is a minimum of truly communal labour: the food is supplied by individuals who deliver it to the display platform and it is only the dancing, the ceremonial and a few minor construction tasks that may be communal. There are in Sivepe two yam gardens where work is communal; these are in sharp contrast to all other garden work. Yet people readily gather for common efforts which have a festive and ceremonial nature or enterprises which arouse an episodic enthusiasm. Examples are the communal fishing and hunting expeditions, projects such as the mission hospital or the marking of the ward boundary.

Even during these communal episodes, the tendency is for each small group to perform a certain task separately, though contemporaneously. A hunting party splits up into family groups who do not meet again until the hunt is over. In fishing each group has its own spot. Similarly in the building of new Sivepe, there was little that was overtly communal, as each small group was working on a house for themselves or a close kinsman. Nonetheless, one would be wrong to [342] [177] describe this pattern as Individualistic. After all, every house was in the same style and of the same size--and this was not wholly a "traditional" style; it was a style introducing new materials and an increase in size of about 50%. When such a change is made by everybody who builds a new house, this indicates that the group is strongly bound by collective decisions.

177 654 571 Unwittingly, the Australian government has tended to make the Orokaiva more oriented towards group work than he was before. Road work, the compulsory planting of rubber trees, compulsory resettlement in larger villages--all these added to the volume of group work while the volume of individual work remained constant within the villages.

654 The rubber plantings followed a quota established for each village;
177 in practise, a village man would make one of his garden plots available
571 to the community at large and all the village trees would be planted
476 there. This would be a communal work project. In accordance with Orokaiva tradition, however, the product of these rubber trees would be individually appropriated, each man being allowed to collect a limited quantity of rubber for himself and market it. The tasks of building the mission station and maintaining it further added to the amount of group work required. Men who took jobs on plantations once more found themselves in a group work situation which formed a contrast with the earlier tradition of individual effort.

474 It is paradoxical that the Australians, after first encouraging
177 this group orientation, soon found themselves fighting against it, in the belief that they were face to face with that dangerous phenomenon "communism." The immediate post-war period, up to the time of the
241 eruption, was the time when an ideologically based cooperative movement took root in the Northern District. This movement, which was centred on Gona, has been well described in general terms by Dakeyne (1966).
[777] It was the direct result of the work of two Anglican clergymen, Revs. Benson and Clint, who preached the virtues of cooperatives, and encouraged the cultivation of a great many village plots of rice and peanuts between the years 1947-1951. Dakeyne reports: "Rev. Flint was insistent that Christian ritual be associated with co-operative action. Educational and committee meetings always closed with a special prayer, there were church services at which tools were blessed and newly planted seed was blessed in the gardens. This aspect of the cooperative movement was regarded with some apprehension by Administration officers who felt it could be misunderstood by the Papuans and possibly lead to the development of a cargo cult. There was some evidence to suggest that a cult did in fact begin." (1966: 60)

The evidence, which Dakeyne does not cite, is interesting enough to be worth a brief mention. Kleekham, the agricultural officer for the coastal area at that time, reports in a memorandum (Kleekham, n.d.) that leaders of the movement were collecting taxes secretly and that "some mystical element was involved" in rice marketing. Kleekham had a huller and was willing to hull rice for growers" consumption or buy it for cash, but the people withheld their produce. He thought that this aloofness was due to the growers' belief "that the formation of and participation in cooperatives would--magically or mystically--in short time raise the native to the status of the European in all respects."

In some form, this movement reached both Sivepe and Inonda. At Sivepe, one man made a plot available where people could "cooperatively" grow rice. A deacon stationed at Sasembata, but a member of the Yega tribe where the movement had its origin, blessed the seeds and (according to my informant) allocated a section of the field to different individuals. The rice was hulled by the Administration's agriculture officer at Wasata and each man took his own rice back home, giving a

plus other amounts of unknown size--enough for the projected establishment of a trade store. Rimoldi's report suggests that cooperation between the villages for this project was difficult to attain; the mission teacher who was to coordinate the project withdrew. (1963: 107-108) After Rimoldi left, one of the Sivepe clans (Jegase) evidently went ahead with some scheme to open a trade store at Sivepe and lost all its money. There was some dishonesty on the part of someone, but I did not try to explore this. When I arrived, the plan to open a trade store was still alive, but people did not like the idea of its being operated by a clan; one of the families of the Jegase clan was playing with the idea of raising some money and starting one. It seems likely that the savings accumulated by the Timumu clan, to which Rimoldi refers, were lost along with the Jegase savings.

In 1966, two group savings accounts were in operation. People had no project in mind for which these savings were intended, but it was felt to be salutary to have savings because there would be no chance otherwise, as I was told, to reach equal status with Europeans. One of these savings accounts was for the whole village, and this is probably the one opened in 1961, referred to by Rimoldi. In 1966, when these bonds matured, the Seho clan leader brought all the money home in two-dollar bills and handed these to each contributor at a meeting. Most of the contributors handed their money back for later investment. The second savings account was operated by one clan, for the purpose of its own bride price and similar payments; as it was clan money, the facts about it were secret. The village fund contained $158.

The only cooperative effort known to me at Inonda was a regular arrangement by which vegetables grown at Inonda were carted to the Ambi Hospital and sold there, in 1967. Towards the end of 1966, some vegetables were sold in the same way to the government in Popondetta. In this case, the proceeds were shared between individual growers. The arrangement was the result of contact between the man who had become a government driver and the appropriate authorities. The carrier was an affine.

Finally, a notable aspect of social organisation in the post-eruption period is the emergence of leaders whose authority rests on two sources: status in traditional terms and status conferred by Australian-sponsored organisations. The village constables could sometimes be so classified, at least superficially. Only on rare instances, however, were they champions of Western values who sought to influence the minds of the people towards acceptance of these values. They did not ask their people to accept Australian organisations as a source of authority (if Weber's definition of this term be accepted) but only to recognise them as an effective source of compulsion. The people of Sivepe, as well as Hohorita werevery much aware that the position of the councillors and committees, successors of the village constables, was very different. The councillor's job was to preach the doctrine of the "new way;" people would tell me how bored they

were to hear this message all the time; yet they came to listen and speakers managed to introduce enough news and good oratory to hold general attention. Furthermore, both in discussion after the speeches and later in private, they agreed with a good deal of it. There was no compulsion about this; if they were bored or disagreed, they were apt to slip away, either with an excuse or without one. If they became really tired of a councillor, they need not re-elect him after his two-year term was over. The councillors were the first, I was told, to change the people's thinking. The "committee" were not given to such oratory; people would never have tolerated it; their job was a humbler, purely executive one. But their actions were always in pursuance of the general principles enunciated by councillors; they were made "legitimate" by what the councillors said. "Committee" was definitely not the mouthpiece of Australian authority, but of the council. This was an ambiguous position, as I already pointed out, because the courts on which the councillor depended as ultimate sanction, was Australian-controlled. Nonetheless, at the level of face-to-face relationships, which mattered most, the "committee" had to rely on his own authority.

Some were not very successful; in Sivepe, the "committee" was at the same time clan-leader and feast-leader; it was therefore very hard indeed to ignore him. In villages where the feast-leader stood aloof from the Council structure, the malcontents could gather round him and defy Council authority until the patrol officer intervened. This is what happened in Garombi, a neighbour-village to Sivepe. Here traditional and modern authority were vested in different persons, whereas in Sivepe both were vested in the same person.

The pattern of religious leadership was much more subtle. First, at Sivepe and Inonda, as in many other places, cooperation with the mission began long before anyone was baptised or even a catechist. At Sasembata, the first phase started after the war. The Orokaiva were glad to have the mission because it provided education for their children (this was the advantage always cited) and no doubt also because of some benefits in the form of European goods. In return for these benefits, the local people helped with land and with labour for buildings, carrying, etc. The man on whose property the rice was grown before the eruption was not, and never became a Christian but died a Pagan in 1963. It was consistent with Orokaiva religious concepts to ask a deacon to bless the seeds of a European crop--the Orokaiva do not know the magic appropriate to this crop, whereas the deacon could be presumed to know.

None of the people now living at Sivepe were baptised before the eruption. After the post-eruption Sasembata station was established a large number of people were soon accepted as catechists and on 6 March, 1963, 1165 people from all parts of the Sasembata district were baptised, including some from Sivepe; there was a second mass baptism in September, 1955, and by this time at least one lineage (or plant emblem group) in Sivepe was wholly Christian. The most senior man in

CHAPTER IV: Contacts with Congeners

Section 1: Kind and Frequency of Contact

731 628 Because of the circumstances of relocation of the Orokaiva, one cannot generally study relationships between persons who were resettled and persons who stayed in their old locations; the old locations were in general restricted areas which remained uninhabited. For a short period, the population of Sivepe was split into one half resettled on their old lands and one half resettled at Awala. If Awala had offered a viable alternative to residence at Sivepe, an interesting interrelation between the two groups might have developed. As it was, the Seho people who stayed with their clansmen at Awala, established gardens at Sivepe and soon preferred to return. Likewise the Sewa people who escaped to Inanda chose the return to their own lands, even though there was no shortage of land at Inonda. While the Seho clan group stayed at Awala, they made frequent visits to Sivepe, but their children went to school at Awala. Once Old Sivepe was built and gardens were established, the Sivepe people made a large feast for Awala, to express gratitude for the hospitality received. (1954)

Section 2: Encouragement of Contacts

731 ? 654 From the first week of evacuation, both government officers and village constables and other community leaders were well aware of the homesickness of the people and their desire to return as often as possible to the villages they had left behind. The camp authorities at Ilimo were only too well aware of the profound shock and despondency of the people and were ready to allow brief expeditions to home villages as long as this could be done without creating fresh conflicts. Hence a policy was developed of permitting return for short visits under supervision of village constables and involving only a limited number of people. Men only were allowed to go home, as the authorities were afraid (not without reason) that if families went back to the villages it would be hard to get them to return to camp out of the restricted areas. In case of further eruptions, the administration of the camps would naturally be blamed. It seems very likely that the initiative for the organising of these expeditions came from the community leaders. Village constables would request permission from Mr. Kaad, mostly because people put pressure on the village constables.

654 731 After resettlement in Awala and other villages, the government made no attempt to discourage the resettled people from making contact with other villages, as long as they did not begin to reside within the area that was still restricted in May, 1951.

Section 3: Morale of the Relocated Community

731 823 In earlier chapters, I have already drawn attention to the widespread homesickness of the evacuees and their insistence upon maintaining identification with the homeland. Undoubtedly, separation from this land compels the Orokaiva to abandon many of his customs and traditions of the past, because so many of these customs and traditions [852] arise out of association with the land. To give only one example, a ceremony thought to be necessary for the survival of a new-born child is, even now, performed in a family garden. Separation from the family [794] land makes such a ritual impossible. At Ilimo, traditional rituals were replaced to some extent by the unaccustomed frequency of Christian religious services which were always well-attended. This, however, was at no time accepted as a substitute for the old way of life.

731 177 Naturally, in the circumstances, people did not feel any pride or satisfaction in their situation in the evacuation camps. Once they were resettled in new villages on their own land, they felt pride in the new villages and in the "new way of life" they had adopted. Sivepe [438] was proud, for instance, of having discarded its pigs. On one occasion they were bargaining to buy a pig from neighbouring Garombi which still [626] had its pigs. During the bargaining, a Garombi man taunted Sivepe about its lack of this kind of treasure. The Sivepe people haughtily called off the sale. Such pride and interest in innovation was associated with a sense of security regarding land tenure and Sivepe's status in relation to other villages. If Sivepe had not felt secure in its ideology of the "new way," there would have been dismay at Garombi's taunt about the lack of pigs. But nobody in Sivepe doubted the rightness of the choice that had been made.

731 657 the resettlement villages as needed, but soon replaced by issues of the sweet potatoes and later, village-grown crops. Distributions tapered off after May, 1951, and ceased at the end of that year. Commercial Enterprises: Agricultural activities are the only kind of enterprise which are encouraged or assisted by government. These activities are mostly conducted by individual entrepreneurs. No rewards are ever given for land clearing, nor are any labour costs ever paid. The government assists by providing coffee, rubber and cocoa seeds to growers. Initially these were free; nowadays, growers are charged the cost of seed.

452 657 Although there is provision in the Territory for credit assistance for economic development, small growers of cash crops such as are found in Sivepa and Inonda are not eligible for this credit. A short time before I left, one man from Inonda (again the government driver) was encouraged to apply for a loan under a new experimental scheme for beef cattle farming, but the arrangements were not complete when I left.

245 652 The government provides marketing assistance to New Guinea growers of coffee (mainly indigenous) by a remission of duty on raw coffee imported into Australia from sources other than Papua and New Guinea to each importer who obtains a certain percentage of his total requirements from the Territory. The government does not itself 245 474 purchase coffee but when the Higaturu Local Government Council was formed one of its initial functions was to operate a cooperative for the purchase, processing and exporting of locally grown coffee. Later [691] (in 1962), the Council withdrew from this activity and an independent Orokaiva Coffee Growers Society was formed. The reason for the Council's withdrawal was advice from the government which felt uneasy about local bodies engaging in comerical activities. The effect of the setting up of the cooperative has been that service is now no longer given to all growers but to all who have bought shares as an entrance fee and become members of the cooperative. This fee was initially $4 but is constantly rising until in 1966 it reached $20. Some non-members sold [439] their coffee to the Chinese for a lower price; others sold through kinsmen who were members, and did not always receive the full proceeds. The government keeps an eye on the operations of the cooperative; in any case, it seemed well enough conducted. Until end 1966, the cooperative depended on the government for transport: the buyer who visited villages each month to collect and pay for the coffee travelled on a government truck. It is now buying trucks of its own. The nearest pick-up point for Sivepa coffee was Garonbi, one mile away; the nearest pick-up point for Inonda coffee was likewise one mile away, at Ajoro.

654 242 The government also assists agriculture through its research activities conducted in various experimental stations in the Territory which specialise in rubber, coffee and other relevant crops. A resources survey has been made of large parts of the Northern District, including the Oro-Bay--Kumusi River region with which we are concerned here. A programme for the improvement of Robusta coffee is on the way,

654 and local field trials are being carried out on the volcanic soils of the Northern District.

242 Agricultural extension work was being carried on by Australian officers stationed in Popondetta, with the help of Papuan agricultural
242 assistants some of whom were stationed in a sub-office in Saiho. It is this staff which has been responsible for the gradual increase in coffee plantings and the spreading of basic knowledge about coffee cultivation. We should not, however, minimise the extent of knowledge and stimulus that spread not through the activities of officials but was passed on from experienced Orokaiva growers to beginners. Furthermore, many persons trained as agricultural assistants have returned to their villages and became a fund of knowledge to those around them. The assistants are trained in a course of between nine and twelve
[87N] months' duration, given at Popondetta. Papuans may also receive a full agricultural diploma course at a school near Keravat, New Britain, or a two-year sub-diploma course at a school near Keravat, New Britain, or a two-year sub-diploma certificate course given at Popondetta. Graduates from these schools were not yet working in the Northern District at the time of my visit.

No stabilisation fund for coffee exists in the Territory. The
435 violent fluctuations in price for this product do have a somewhat
245 unsettling effect on growers, though I could not observe very much of this as 1966-67 was a good year. I heard that in bad years in the near past people had been very disappointed. The problem of price fluctuations affects other tropical crops as well, and New Guinea has few sources of income which are significantly stabler than coffee. Therefore, no easy solution to this problem is possible. The Orokaiva Coffee Growers Society has been following a wise policy of withholding a substantial part of the proceeds in good years for capital improvement, thus providing a kind of cushion against fluctuations. Thus, in 1966-67, a substantial proportion of proceeds was withheld for improvements to the factory and trucks. Growers are paid an initial sum per pound substantially lower than the expected total proceeds, and the balance is in part distributed to shareholders at the end of the season, in part withheld. By this procedure, a substantial drop in export prices can be suffered without corresponding lowering of the initial cash payment. In 1966, the cash payment was $26 for a 150-pound sack.

657 A good deal of development work has been left for the Higaturu
423 Council to deal with. I have already mentioned that government officers attempted to have the council deal with matters of land tenure improvement (though Port Moresby authorities overruled this) and that the coffee factory was planned as a council operation though again plans were changed later. In 1966, the main activities of the council were
653 in the building of roads, the improvement of water supplies, the building of medical aid posts, the maintaining of the produce markets at Popondetta and Saiho and some minor social services. (For details, see Table 12.) Thus, a sizeable area of local development had become

A [See Cat. 116, p. 217--Analyst]

spite of this vast differential, the mission continues to recruit certificated teachers who are qualified for government jobs. These men live on the mission stations with their families. The mysterious aspect of the salary question was the payment by the government of a grant-in-aid to the mission in respect of all mission teachers who held A course certificates or better. The amount payable ranged from $240 per annum to $1000 per annum according to qualifications and skin colour, but in all cases the government paid the mission in subsidy far more than the mission paid the teachers. The only explanation of the disparity I could get was that the Bishop had suggested and the teachers had agreed that all mission teachers work equally hard and well and should be paid the same. Thus, the money received from the government was supposedly shared among all teachers--certificated or not--and the government is apparently not concerned how the mission spends the grants-in-aid.

Mission schools are inspected by departmental officers and receive classroom materials on the same basis as Administration schools. Grants-in-aid are paid to missions for the maintenance of students at a boarding school. There is provision for Local Government Councils to provide school facilities over and above the government minimum standard, and receive government subsidy for these, but this provision was little used in the Northern District. Though a few of the school texts have been prepared by the mission, most materials have been supplied by the Department of Education. These materials tend to be class sets of graded school text books in the basic subjects, English, Mathematics and Social Studies. Little reading material is available over and above basic texts. Such curriculum enrichment as there is comes mostly from the educational broadcasts which are frequent and produced with great care. In view of the limited training of most teachers, the value of these radio lessons is considerable. In 1965, 38 broadcasts per week were available to school children.

In 1967, the government brought in an education tax which was expected to be levied by school principals. The various missions of the Territory were disturbed about this demand, as it would turn them into collection agents for the government. Furthermore, the missions knew the fallacy of the argument on which the government relied for the defence of this tax. It was not true, as the government alleged, that Papuans passively accept education as a handout and feel no obligation to contribute to their children's school education. Orokaiva parents, and notably those of Sivepe, are constantly making substantial contributions. The head teacher at Ssembata told me that in 1966-67 he had received $300 in financial contributions as well as a great deal of labour assistance for the building of new classrooms, new teacher's residences, the hospital, etc. and the building materials necessary for these projects including sago, thatch and blackpalm flooring--both of them scarce materials requiring a good deal of labour as well. These contributions if calculated in financial terms would come to a good deal more than the tax of $1 per child the head teacher was

241 the Territory to the point of self-sufficiency and dietary ade-
177 quacy and one on which almost no progress has been made. Theoretically the problem does not look difficult, in view of the characteristic adaptability of the Orokaiva, the loose group organization which involves no elaborately structured hierarchy of vested interests in the *status quo*, and the freedom of families to experiment as they wish as more or less independent production units. But here, as in the case of shifting gardeners in many comparable situations, the problem is one of motivation, of incentives. Among the Orokaiva, for all the enthusiasm they have engendered, past religious and cooperative movements have not struck seriously at the rotational basis of cropping, or introduced fertilization and other soil-maintenance techniques. The territorial De-
[654] partment of Agriculture is desperately short of manpower and it is not likely that it can afford to station a permanent cadre of technical personnel to guide and supervise this
[799] still quite remote district. It is also very doubtful that the Anglican mission could do so. Nevertheless, at the centers referred to above, the present dynamic situation justifies giving encouragement and aid on a voluntary basis to any families and individuals who may wish to try out sedentary cultivation, market saleable products, and on a cooperative basis of organization where desired. Such a non-compulsive widening of the range of cultural alternatives seems in line with a current strong stirring of ambition among some of the younger, schooled Papuans to adapt to the modern world and have a greater voice in the affairs of the Territory.

731 To the extent that this paper presents a correct interpreta-
177 tion, its implication is that this catastrophic shock has pro-
178 duced something approximating a minimum degree of cul-
121 tural trauma, considering the demographic dimensions and the destruction and death involved. Predispositions in Oro-
[659] kaiva culture and personality favored relatively easy "adaptive" behavior in the face of crisis. The remarkably effective relief measures taken by the Australian authorities helped materially to cushion the situation. Any attempt by Government and Mission to use the emergency to manipulate such a people and culture arbitrarily in drastically new economic and socio-political directions would seem foredoomed to failure, and would generate unwanted tensions. Yet opportunities are clearly present for economic and other stimula-
121 tion and education of a voluntary and permissive type. Considered as a case study in cultural dynamics it is illustrative both of internal readjustment in a culture where a sharp shock and break in continuity occurs, and of the implications of attempted control and direction in culture process by a dominant outside authority.

[p. 22-B]